/1056 cont./

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It is understandable that laments and formulas of mourning are most numerous, inasmuch as every death agitates our Indians to an extraordinary degree and stirs him to the depths. By comparison, the prayers of supplication are plain and simple. The latter will be given first, with brief explanations of the meaning, and afterwards the other prayers and related invocations. I may properly omit a grammatical analysis because we have Bridges' dictionary and because Hestermann has undertaken special investigations on the grammar of the Yamana, to which we refer.

(1) Hitapéan hăja kĕmĕtawĕ̆.
My father, to me be merciful.

These words are a general supplication which the Supreme Being is asked to fulfill, for example, to grant success in the hunt or good weather during the canoe trip. -- BD:321 gives mĕtawăgĕ, "to act kindly, to do good, show pity or mercy" /cited in English/.

(2) Hitapéan, ámnu hăja kĕmĕtawăguan
My father, now then, to me be kind

hăuančimăalan.
today.

Obviously this request is similar to the preceding one. It is uttered immediately before a trip, a hunt, and similar occasions.

(3) Hăjangnikăja kĕmĕtawăguan hăuančimăalan,
To us be merciful today,

Hitapéan.
my father.

This request is again like the others. It is sent heavenward in the early forenoon shortly before they set out on a major undertaking or a long canoe trip.

/1066 com./

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(4) Anno, nihí, hlimdawéhon, Hitaayéhe.
Now then, thou, be merciful [to me], my father.

This petition seems to be a general one, but it is used especially by a mother whose child is ill, so that Wataynéwa will not let it die, but make it well again.

(5) Hitaayéhe, nihí ha ja wennéhi.
My father, let me go, I am making it known to you.

A person who petitions in this way is really asking for good weather. Hence he announces to the Supreme Being that he will soon start on his trip. /1067/ -- BD:66 gives hiaino, "to let walk about, to let wander" /cited in English/, and BD:560 adds nhehi, "to show, cause to see" /cited in English/. -- The Tamens also often address the Supreme Being in spontaneous utterances. If a family has planned a long trip, the father will get up early from his bed, move to the hut entrance, and look appraisingly at the clouds or the direction of the wind. If good weather is in the offing, he says to the-one-up-there: "I thank thee, Hidéhon, that thou hast sent us favorable weather!" If the prospects are not so favorable, he fervently requests: "Hidéhon, thou knowest that we wish to travel on, be kind to us and send us good weather!"

(6) Anno, hiphíjo hlimdawéx nagéjaian,
Now then, to us all be kind every day,

Hitaayéhe.
my father.

[513] Before a family lies down to sleep in the hut, one of the older members repeats this saying. It sounds like a short evening prayer containing gratitude for the present day and a request for success on the following day. According to the people who explained it, the emphasis is on the request that Wataynéwa let all the members of the family be well and happy during the coming day.

/1607 cont./

(7) Anna, hiyuhlga nihewilgwa, Hitsapka,
Now then, or receive mercifully, my father,

thagwaja-
alas.

With this request a person turns back to Hiuhlgan after he was punished by the deity through a death, he had quarreled with him, so to speak. -- BD:301 gives nihewilgwa, "to take a person under one's care, to be kind and mercifull to a person" /cited in English/.

(8) Hajaguwihlga hlitakumuhga, Hitsapka.
He he will [surely] push forward, my father.

A person who is rowing on the water and is aiming for a shore or an island where there is game repeats this request, confident that Hiuhlgan will let the canoe glide there quickly as though he personally were pushing it with a strong hand. -- BD:177 mentions hlitumihf, "to shove, push, prow, bear against with the hands" /cited in English/.

(9) Uhlja nihuhinsha, Watagihga.
To me give a good course, the old one above.

A person makes this entreaty during the canoe trip if bad weather threatens, so that he will reach his goal or the nearest safe shore.

(10) Uhlja hlimihtawihga. Hitsapka, thamihu ihan.
To me be merciful, my father, save the boat.

In bad weather they ask that the good father-up-there lift the canoe over all dangers. -- BD:401 explains thamihf, "to uphold in one's arms, to raise or lift up" /cited in English/. /1056/

(11) Hitsapka, hlja ahkhla hlimihtawagiha,
My father, to me with ahkhla be merciful,

chekaga.
chekaga.

/1958 cont./

This means: Send me help through an ellipse the groups, Pecadores cooridenti against the ialdhra /lower spirit/ that came near my canoe and threatened me. The word ilhaya serves to strengthen the request and replaces the word Watayindjwa. Although direct address is avoided, the old-one-up-there knows that these words are addressed to him.

(13) ihaya ndaja ki-wila ndjo ehdja
The heart to you (preserve) from above strong

ehdma.
[ed] sitting here.

This request means: May the-one-up-there help you who are sitting here so that you will freely develop your strength and be able to go on singing for a long time. Adelhoid spoke these words during the youth initiations, as she looked at old Richard who had been exerting himself for some time as the leader of the singing. -- The word ihaya, "heart," also has a further meaning, as in German, and BD:383 acknowledges this: "the heart, the affections, the soul" /cited in English/. According to BD:14 ehdja means "strong, firm, powerful" /cited in English/. The word wila here, according to BD:388, means "to sit, to be sitting" /cited in English/.

Prayers of Thanksgiving

The preceding prayers of supplication follow a recognizably uniform pattern. The prayers of thanksgiving for all kinds of gifts, which as such are multifarious and are bestowed by the Supreme Being, have more variety. It is actually amazing that our Fuegians often feel a special urge to give thanks for the benefits that Watayindjwa bestows upon them. Such a practice points to the stable, close relationship that the Yamana believe they have with their deity. Because it is easy for them to express gratitude, this relationship must be favorable and satisfy them very much. It makes them feel truly happy.

/1058 cont./

(1) Aǐár^{I} Hitapǘan. Aǐár^{I} Kalaǵáčen.
Thanks my father. Thanks, little old father.

With these short formulas the Yamana pays his debt of gratitude on various occasions. They are often used and are familiar to everyone. — In BD:48 we find ōōō, "I am so glad! Well done!..." /cited in English/. This is undoubtedly the same as aǐár^{I}.

(2) Aǐár^{I}, Hitapǘan, karǘutuš
Thanks, my father, favorable weather

uǵúna.
accompanied me.

Thanks is given in this manner by a person who has again reached a safe shore after a canoe trip; while he is comfortably resting, he thinks about his trip.

(3) Aǐár^{I}, hipikǘa kēmētaɣwǘákete Hitapǘan.
Thanks, to both of us was merciful my father.

/1059/ This sentence is likewise an expression of thanks for the favorable course or the succesful outcome of some undertaking in which two persons were engaged.

(4) Aǐár^{I}, Hitapǘan, hǘa kēmētaɣwǘgude
Thanks, my father, to me was good

hauančimǘalan.
today.

A person who is luxuriating in the enjoyment of some success, especially one who is enjoying rich hunting spoils, does not forget afterwards to make known in this manner his grateful acknowledgment to the kind giver and benefactor.

(5) Hajananikǘa kēmauttuxmēnax Hitapǘan.
Us has protected my father.

/1059 cont./

With this formula one wants to express thanks for success, for some advantage which he achieved, or for particular protection granted him. One family greets another with this formula after they have returned home or when they meet on the water. -- BD:181 writes "kĭmaguteka, to go or come up in order to take care of; kĭmaguturmŏni, to get up, or come up and stand guardian over" /cited in English/.

(6) šábagua Wačinéjwa Hitapŭnčhaja.
Satisfied I with the old one, my father.

Filled with gratitude, a mother who was worried about her sick child and is now happy that it is well again expresses herself in these words. According to BD:182, sabagŭta is "to be happily, or at peace" /cited in English/.

(7) Annu, hŕja kégurat alagumutkilŭ
Now then, me it pleased to look upon

Wataginéjwa-tĕ, hapančimŕalan.
Watauineiwa in heaven, today.

One who was sick but has become well again gives thanks in this manner. Wataginéjwa had already "looked upon" him, that is, aimed at him with the intention of letting him die, but once more he desisted. -- BD:20 gives alagumŭtŭ, "to gaze, look, watch sitting" /cited in English/.

(8) Annu hŕja kĕtumŕala tupŕan Hitapŭan.
Now then, from me bad time took away my father.

A person who was sick for a long time but who has completely recovered rejoices in this fashion; the torture of disease is over, and he experiences a new summer, so to speak.

(9) Annu, hŕja kaklŭpa talagĕnatupŕan Hitapŭan.
Now then, me from above looked upon my father.

/1059 cont./

782 539 These are the words of a man who felt he was near death because Watauinēiwa cast his eye upon him. Because this man recovered, /1060/ he joyfully gives thanks for having escaped the threatening misfortune. -- BD:392 gives talagōnatapōna, "to look fixedly, gaze, be gazing intently" /cited in English/.

(10)	Annu,	hipáj	mērnárna,	ašárˇ;	hipái
	Now then,	we	new summer,	thank;	for us

kutakētumā́ala	tupā́an.
is winter	past.

782 539 825 As soon as the first signs of approaching spring appear, after the long months of winter with its abundant snow, everyone breathes more freely and joyfully expresses his feelings of renewed zest for life with these words. -- Compare tupā́ana in BD:556.

(11)	Hī́tēpan	hītéki	hakuā́luˇ.
	I myself	saw	sea anemones.

More precisely this means: I was the first to see with my own eyes the sea anemone. -- According to BD:260, hītōpan is "I only, I by myself" /cited in English/; according to BD:270, hākūālusˇ, "the red sea anemones" /cited in English/. The small scarlet sea anemones, also called sea roses (Actiniaria), can be found all the year round; nevertheless it is always an occasion for great rejoicing when, in waning winter, one discovers the unusually bright-colored colonies of these small animals. They are greeted as harbingers of spring which everyone hopes to live through. The Yamana thank Watauinēiwa with the above prayer formula for this favorable prospect. In sheer exuberance the people dance and hop about, even in the fragile canoe, regardless of the great danger of treading a hole in it and smashing it. The person who first sees a bright-colored sea anemone behaves very boisterously.

782 539 (12) Annūēčia, hipáj mērnárna, ašárˇ;
Now then, us new summer, thank;

annūēčia,	hipái	mērnárna.
now then,	us	new summer.

/1060 cont./

782 539 With this longer phrase the people thank the Supreme Being for providing them with a new summer and with it another new bit of life. -- BD:25 writes annūōčia.

(13) Ašárˇ hipái tumiǐana,
Thanks, us we paint with egg yolk,

hăkukísin.
summer is here.

In detail this phrase means: Thanks be to thee, Wataųinéiwa, that [through thy grace] we may experience this new summer; as an expression of our joy, we are painting ourselves with egg yolk. -- BD:262 writes hăkukísin, "the other, another summer" /cited in English/. BD:493 gives tūmīaana, "to beautify or adorn oneself in any way" /cited in English/. -- With this exclamation they invite each other to make a special facial painting as soon as the first birds' eggs are available in spring. With the yolk of a fresh egg they smear /1061/ a line the width of a finger, which begins at the edge of the hair, goes across the forehead and the bridge of the nose, and down to the upper lip. While this is going on there is lively and sometimes boisterous merriment. Filled with gratitude, they do not always address Hidábuan directly with this prayer formula, but it is done indirectly whenever they recite it.

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(14) Annu, hăia, kēmaustuximaxuiăina yărum,
Now then, for me troubled himself for favorable weather

hipikăja kēmaustuximágua Wataųinéiwa.
for us troubled himself Wataųinéiwa.

With these words, too, they thank the Supreme Being for the favorable weather which he provided for the canoes. An individual is speaking for himself personally and for his companions. -- Compare tūaina in BD:66, as well as its use in Formula 5 (p. 983) and Formula 2 (p. 983).

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/1061 cont./

(15) Annu, hipikā́ja kēmaustékude Hitapū́an,
Now then, us has protected my father,

wḗlitēs hipā́i tauwarā́gude ā́nen,
merciful us he rescued the boat,

hipā́i šabā́gudagu Hitapū́ančikā́ja.
we congratulate [ourselves] on our father.

These longer words of thanksgiving are repeated by those who have found safe refuge after a dangerous sea voyage. One should visualize the sudden change of weather which sometimes overtakes a canoe in the middle of a wide channel. -- BD:428 gives tauwā́gū, "to keep near to in order to support or aid by one's presence, ... to defend, aid by being present" /cited in English/. Compare also, in BD:152, šabugūdā́gū, "to congratulate oneself on a happy success" /cited in English/. -- The above words, therefore, express how glad the Yamana are to have a benevolent father-up-there who cares for them and rescues them; they are congratulating themselves on having him.

(16) Sḗnnakite Hā́učélla hā́ian hajanḗate čiḗxaus,
Free from Hā́učélla we united in the čiḗxaus,

makainixā́ala ū́ška takā́ja hā́jan
with the strangers here with us we

šabagudiā́te.
peacefully united.

Annu, hipikā́ja kekajtauwanjā́te, čiḗxaus. Annu,
Now then, us to help promised, čiḗxaus. Certainly,

kēmētawēgā́na kēndḗj, hajananikā́ja lḗša
well wishing both, to us [remains] piece of land,

hā́janči tīnamū́tupe hajandḗpan,
where we spend the winter we alone,

Wḗlapatux-sēf kēguraiminā́ana
[in case] murderer in heaven does not intend to take away

/1061 cont./

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hajananikŕja.	ketégede/1062/	Watayinéiwa.	Hajananikŕja	
us.	Thanks,	the old one.	Us	
méstumulínude,	alár,	Watayinéiwa	húlu	
here let awaken,	thank [him]	Watayinéiwa	all	
héanikipan	kémaustekáana			
these days	was protectively concerned,			
hauančispedíulumi.	Makájnix	kéndéj	kŕja kúkan	
so also in future.	Strangers	two	likewise furthermore	
kélumaustekuána	hajanánin	Imun;	ketégede	Hidíbuan,
will protect	our	father;	thanks	my father,
ketégede	Hidíbuan!			
thanks	my father!			

This long prayer was freely invented by Calderon at the conclusion of the youth initiation in March, 1922. An approximate translation would be: Without being molested by Háučélla (14) we have

> 14. This Kina spirit is mentioned only occasionally during the initiation (p. 746).

celebrated the čjéxaus here in peaceful communion with the two strangers [Gusinde and Koppers]. They promised to help us (15).

> 15. I had assured the families settled in Puerto Mejillones that I would intercede on their behalf with the Chilean government to have this area ceded to them exclusively as their property. Compare Gusinde (c):434.

Because they are people of good will, they will fulfill their promise. Then this area around Puerto Mejillones will belong to us alone and be our property, and we shall be able to spend each winter here undisturbed. If only that "murderer-in-heaven" will not seize us and take us away! Thanks be to Watayinéiwa who still gives us life. Watayinéiwa will continue to protect us and care

/1062 cont./

for us, as he has these days. Our father will also protect these two Whites. For this, thanks be to thee, my father!

Just a reference to a few words which are also given in BD. BD:154 gives sōnnakĭta, "solitary, lonely, secluded" /cited in English/. BD:152 gives: sabagūdĭa, "to lie down happily, to lie down in peace, to be or live happily" /cited in English/. BD:281 explains laĭa, instead of lēa given above, as, among other things: "shelving rocks with large spaces between them" /cited in English/, which is true of the coast at Puerto Mejillones. BD:177 mentions kōgurĭiūa, "to be impatient to get" /cited in English/. BD:181 gives kōmausteka, "to go, or come up in order to take care of" /cited in English/. The word ketégede is the same as kategata in BD:170.

It is surprising, to mention this again, that our Fuegians have created definite formulas of sincere thanksgiving for various occasions and that they often address these to their Supreme Being to pay their debt of gratitude to him.

δ. Laments

The formulas with which bereaved persons filled with grief pour out their hearts and with which /1063/ people also unburden their souls of other forms of sorrow are more numerous and varied. In such situations they show their very human and altogether sensitive natures which they never before revealed to a European as ~~openly as they never before revealed to a European as~~ openly as they did to me on the occasion of a large funeral ceremony or on a few other occasions. Besides the laments given here, the people of former times had a larger number which must be regarded as hopelessly lost. I was assured of this several times. The prayers follow here in a rather free order, beginning with those that are actual expressions of mourning.

(1) Hitapŭan, kĕmudĕkun hăia ka-kŭpa
My father, why indeed me from above

tutumeyuwakŭte.
punished.

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/1063 cont./
With loud cries and heart-rending sobs these words are repeated by women whose children have been allowed to die by Watauinéiwa. Each of them regards the loss of a child as a personal punishment. -- Anita who lost all her children without exception often speaks these words, according to her intimate friends, Nelly and Adelheid. The word kémudékun is the same as kómūdūa in BD:172: "what's the matter? what do you want?" /cited in English./ BD:564 gives tūtūmēiūa, "to punish, illtreat, correct by punishing" /cited in English/.

(2) Annūččía hā́ja ūla kūpa
Quare /why/ me sponte /freely/ desuper /from above/

tutumeyuwandéa Hitapūan,
castigavisti /punished/ mi pater /my father/,

tā́lauwāja.
tā́lauwāja /translated from Latin; see p. 993 /.

Again a woman laments: Why did you punish me by letting my child die? -- BD:25 writes annūōčia. The word tā́lauwāja, frequently also talauwā́ja, serves here as an exclamation of emphasis, somewhat in the sense of: Great is my sorrow, I am completely crushed, thus I cry, full of sorrow. BD:389 also gives the word tellaaja, "being mourners or in mourning for the dead" /cited in English/. In this position and combination it corresponds to our "Woe!" Compare also the data on p. 1073.

(3) Kēnjúičía hā́ja kūpa matauuwēxmutā́kude;
Therefore me from above helped;

kítu kūpa tstumínatupuwičía
he himself from above again take away

Watauinéiwa-sef ūpaj
the old-one-in-heaven therewith.

A grieving mother realizes her plight and says: The-one-up-there seemed to be particularly benevolent to me; in reality, however,

/1063 cont./
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he helped me to have a child with the intention of letting it die - and causing me great sorrow therewith. -- BD:307 gives matauuwōx or matauuwōštāgū, "to work with one another as companions" /cited in English/. From the use of this word one sees the Indians' idea that both the Supreme Being and the mother together help to produce a child. BD:494 gives tumina, "to pick up with or in the hands" /cited in English/. /1064/

(4) Kēnjūjčia hāia hixupa kičēxmutākude,
Therefore me the one-from-above afflicted,

tālauwāia.
alas.

Again the lament of a mother and father who have been punished by Watauinēiwa with the loss of their child. -- The word kič-ēxmūt-aku-dē is derived from ōx-dātū in BD:50.

(5) Kēnjūjčia hāia ūla kūpa
Therefore me sponte /freely/ from above

kūrat, alakēxmutakilēra, Hitapūan.
gave, to take away again, my father.

Like the preceding formula, this also means: The Supreme Being gave the child to the parents with the intention of taking it away again soon and thus punish them.

(6) Kēnjūjčia hāia ūla kūpa
Therefore me sponte /freely/ from above

winānude, Hitapūan.
has dishonorably taken away, my father.

Here the Supreme Being is accused of a deceitful, false intent which the parents now in mourning did not realize earlier. -- BD:611 gives wīnana, "to betray, act treacherously, to trick" /cited in English/.

/1064 cont./

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(7) Ka-kúpa (hu)winínude hája,
From above has deceptively taken away me,

tálawāja, Watauinéiwa.
alas, Watauinéiwa.

This formula differs from the preceding one only in appearance. The meaning is the same in both inasmuch as Watauinéiwa is accused of consciously intending to deceive the parents to whom he gave a child.

(8) Kétakēn! ka-kúpa makaitūšude
Truly! the one-from-above let die

kalaiéxēden čiéxaus.
the old ones of the čiéxaus.

Alfredo, who was the leader of the first initiation that I experienced (p. 179 /untranslated/), was constantly depressed by the knowledge that only a very small number of his countrymen were still living. He often lamented that the old friends whom he had formerly always joined in the čiéxaus had long since been summoned by Watauinéiwa. -- My informants assured me that makaitūšude has not been current for some time.

(9) Ašá hitēpáala ha-kútatumaiíala tupáana,
Indeed, I alone must find my way in summer,

tálawāja, Hitapúan.
alas, my father.

/1065/ The meaning is: Again I begin a summer and that alone, how shall I make out! A widow speaks these words in remembrance of her husband whom she has recently lost. -- BD:260 translates hitōpan as "I only, I alone" /cited in English/. Compare in BD: 496 tūmaiaana, "to be unable or find difficulty in doing anything" /cited in English/. I was told that tupáana is a word no longer current.

/1065 cont./

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(10) Kagufwēmuššítude, Hitapúan, hā́ka,
Me he discouraged, my father, on my account,

tā́lauwāja.
alas!

One says this when he has lost a close relative and has been so deeply affected by the death that he sees himself facing his own demise. -- The above verb may be related to kāgufkilinata, in BD:200, "to get weat /sic/" /cited in English/.

(11) Wataųinḗiwa-sēf hā́ia kaguramínude,
The old-one-in-heaven me took away,

tā́lauwāja, Ƶatambáančinḗiwa Hitápuančikāja,
alas, I am angry with my father,

tā́lauwāja.
alas.

A person declares quite openly that his anger is directed at Wataųinḗiwa because he let his relatives die. -- BD:153 gives Ƶatambaa, "dissatisfied, displeased, discontented" /cited in English/. Nelly and Adelheid asserted positively that this pure form of lament is difficult to translate.

(12) Annu, hā́ia, k-ū́la
Indeed, for my sake, ipse spoke /freely/

kū́pa, tarawḗna hauakipaiḗmalim.
desuper /from above/ weep my relatives.

These words mean: Disaster has befallen me on account of the arbitrariness of the-one-up-there, namely, the loss of a member of the family. My nearest kin share this with me and weep with me. -- BD:422 mentions the commonly used tā́ra and taratapčna, "to cry very much, to keep on crying as a young child in pain" /cited in English/. The word ū́la has been repeated several times.

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/1065 cont./
Its actual meaning is: sponte /Latin/, freely, from one's own impulse, according to a personal decision, or, as BD:87 says: "without being bidden, i.e., on one's own responsibility, without being asked" /cited in English/. That is why I have translated k-ūla kūpa as "ipse sponte desuper." This describes the completely free, indeed arbitrary, behavior of Watauinēiwa, against which every human being defenseless.

(13) Anmu, mâte k-âla kūpa yā̆iix tēpanā̆na
Truly, ipse sponte desuper tears he makes flow,

kičimundē̆n, tâlauwāja, yā̆iix yā̆mala, yā̆iix dā̆ra,
of the relatives alas, tears big tears all,

kandē̆n.
from them.

/1066/ The meaning of this is obviously similar to that of the preceding lament. The last half of this lament is impressive. -- The word tēpanā̆na is probably the same as tōpanana in BD:409.

(14) Kičiyā̆j kipaiē̆malim kakū̆pa makā̆j
Him from the old women the-one-from-above

tuiā̆mude, Hitapū̆an, tâlauwāja.
has taken away, my father, alas.

While a few older women are grieving over a particular deceased person, someone present puts the situation into words: Indeed, the one whom you mourn was allowed to die by the one-up-there; that is truly a reason for mourning.

(15) Kičin ajnē̆x kīpa kakū̆pan,
His strong wife from above [afflicted],

tâlauwā̆ja; aiâr̆ ā̆ŝkin ā̆alasina
alas; luckily heart strengthened

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/1066 cont./

aizéx kípa kakúpan, tálauwája.
strong wife from above, alas.

Referring to her brother-in-law, the weaker, grieving sister says: His brave wife [= my sister] was afflicted by the one-up-there, but fortunately that-one-up-there also gave her a stout heart and so she will overcome this sorrow. -- BD:63 also gives ʒalasina, "strong, energetic, not easily subdued" /cited in English/. The word aizéx is related to aizáku, or aizōka, in BD:10.

(16) Kítepan hája ka-kúpa šituxmútuten,
He himself me the one-above shall marry,

Hitapúan, tálauwāja.
my father, alas.

Here we have the very perturbed burst of anger of a despairing widow who, after the loss of her husband, sees herself helpless and abandoned. She wants to say: Since I am alone and do not know what to do, the one-up-there shall marry me and assume the cares of a husband. -- BD:573 mentions tuxmūtū and tuxmūtūtas, "living happily with one's wife" /cited in English/.

(17) Apitépan kečímúta ke-kúpa
Without anything [I] here [through] from above,

mamuápi tépána, tálauwāja, míči.
we in poverty, alas, place.

A widow describes to the Supreme Being the desperate situation of herself and her children, somewhat as follows: Bereaved of everything through the one-up-there, I am sitting here at my campsite with my children. Who will feed my children now that I am completely impoverished since the one-up-there has let my husband die. -- Compare, in BD:409, tōpōna and tōpanana, which is also related to apitōpan. Possibly mamuápi given above and mamūāpai in BD:299 are the same. Compare kečímúta with the compounds made with kiči and particles expressing direction in BD:171.

/1067/

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(18) Ełatakáki ka-kúpa uwēxanáana,
Widower [I] [through] from above snatched away,

tálauwāja; ánnu, síkāła
alas; now then, You-up-there

mauštexmáalawána Hidábuan, Ajzákun,
care for them, my father, [you] hard one,

tálauwāja.
alas.

This means: I have now become a widower through that-one-up-there who has snatched away my wife. Woe is me! Now then, you-up-there, my father, provide sustenance for my children, you hard-hearted one!

(19) Kuí tumutekiyágua Watauinéiwa-sēfinčikāja,
Where is to be found the old one in heaven,

tálauwāja?
alas.

This is the threat of a person who in his grief is at his wit's end, and he rages: Where could I meet Watauinéiwa, for I should like to have it out with him! -- BD:395 gives tekiiāgū, "to find what is one's own, to find and appropriate" /cited in English/.

(20) Akājakeyúwa hāja tekiyágu Watauinéiwa-sēfinčikāja.
I desire fervently me to meet with old-one-in-heaven.

Just like the preceding formula this expression is used by a person who is very perturbed and who burns with the desire to settle ruthlessly with the one-up-there for his sad plight.

(21) Kuí hiletekiyágua Watauinéiwa-sēfinčikāja,
Where could I meet Watauinéiwa-in-heaven,

tálauwāja.
alas.

/1067 cont./

165 539 This is similar to the preceding formula. Since this fervent desire, too, cannot be realized, everyone resigns himself to the tight fetters of those who are helpless and have no power.

(22) Kā́ja hā́ja killakupanʃauin, tā́lauwā́ja,
Also me shall he carry away, alas,

Hitapū́an.
my father.

A person in mourning longs to have his life's companion by his side, and since he does not want to be alone any longer, he cries emphatically: May the one-up-there likewise take me away from here and grant me death. -- Compare the compounds with killa in BD:171.

(23) Šapū́ru-ā́čin-hā́juwa Hitā́pyančikā́ja,
How terrible on account of my father,

tā́lauwā́ja, ukā́ali hja-kū́pa mḗaličin,
alas, only [child] from above in danger,

tā́lauwā́ja, šapū́ru-ā́čin-hā́juwa, talā́uwā́ja.
alas, I am afraid, alas.

/1068/ This is the lament of a mother who has already lost several children. She says: I have every reason to be afraid, for, since Hidā́pyan has let my other children die, the only one left to me is in danger of soon falling a victim to death. -- BD:286 gives mēala, "to expose oneself to danger" /cited in English/. BD:158 also gives sapurū-ačin-haiiūa, "how dreadful, how horrible" /cited in English/.

(24) Hitēpā́ančix hí́či ʃápagur yēkḗkēr
Solitary I to feel happy in my hut,

mētalapēnḗkēr hā́yančjakḗli, tā́lauwā́ja.
quiet the hut and the hut of my children, alas.

Now that I am all alone in my hut, how could I be happy; for it is quiet in my hut and in the children's hut because it is empty, woe

/1068 cont./

765 539 is me! This is the lament of a mother who looks around in her hut and seeks in vain for her children, for death took them all. -- BD:260 gives hĭtopaĭpan, "I by myself, without anybody else whatever" /cited in English/. BD:152 gives ĭahagŭr̆ĭ, "to do happily, to be happily or at peace" /cited in English/. The children's hut, ĕkĕli, was described on page 34. Compare mötalapŏna, "to become quite calm" /cited in English/, in BD:320.

765 152 In a frenzy of emotion a grieving woman sometimes breaks the hut to pieces immediately after the funeral of her child. Whenever she looks around in the dwelling, she is aware of the gap which death made in the circle of her children. Therefore, she wants to destroy completely this picture which awakens the pain anew. At the same time she destroys the utensils used by the deceased child. John Lawrence and his sons assured me that they often witnessed this kind of wild behavior on the part of grieving parents.

765 539 (25) Hapakĭlumĕ́i akĭ́luwajakĭ́pan kagiĕ́kude
I am from the sea the woman he took away

hĭ́ja, hŏ́jma.
me, oh grief.

A widow mourns because the Supreme Being allowed her husband to drown in the sea. -- BD:16 gives akĭ́lŭaia, "a lake, pond, pool, puddle" /cited in English/. The above combination, a form familiar to the Yamana, says roughly: the woman who has something to do with the sea down there. BD:194 mentions kĭgiĕkŭ, "to rise up and get fast, so as not to be able to pull down!" /cited in English./ The exclamation hŏ́jma here is synonymous with tĭ́lauwĭ́ja. Compare laema in BD:282.

(26) Hĭ́la kĭ́pa-mĭ́yen mutĭ́jana, tĭ́lauwĭ́ja.
Yet from above observe cease, alas,

Hitĭ́jpanĕ́ikĭ́ja.
my father.

Specifically this formula says: My father, I wish very much that you cease looking at me so sharply; otherwise I shall avenge myself soon enough and inflict a hurt on you, too. -- Compare mĭ́jaku.

/1068 cont./

TK5 "to observe, watch with a view to find out anything" /cited in
539 English/, in BD:291; mutaqwana, "to cease, desist" /cited in
English/, in BD:366; hala and la in BD:277, 283. I heard this prayer several times at the great funeral ceremony in March, 1923.

/1069/

(27) Annumutá, hála kípa tímukinananána
TK5 Desire, yet up there take to task
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Yíjaalífga-tíqulum kípa ulíku
713 in Yíjaalífga up there be pleased
776
qónakipaclíkíja, tíiaqwíja.
women from the north, alas.

In order to understand this sentence one must realise that, according to the Yamana conception, all the animals were made by Wataginíjwa in Yíjaalífga where there was a great revolution when the women from the north who performed the kína settled there. Thus, all the animals belong to him as his property. Anyone who wants to give full vent to his grief expresses in the above sentence his desire to cause Wataginíjwa serious harm by destroying his animals. If he should succeed in doing so, he would feel adequately compensated. -- The individual words can be found in BD:26, for example, annumutu, "to be longing for" /cited in English/. The word tímukinana in BD:321 refers to the strict treatment of the candidates and to the serious order of the day in the kína school. BD:400 gives ulíka, "to laugh, twitter" /cited in English/.

TK5 Old Mallemikens, who repeated this fixed formula at the
539 large funeral ceremony in March, 1923, added a few personal thoughts and spoke freely as follows: "All animals went out from Yíjaalífga. Wataginíjwa brought that about. Therefore, since I cannot touch his person, I shall kill all his animals which he made. This will calm me and make me content, this will satisfy my lust for revenge!" After a long pause he went on with this thought, as follows: "Unfortunately I cannot now harm 'the-one-up-there' seriously, for I am too old [frail] and do not have enough weapons, I cannot undertake anything any more, for strength fails me, an old man. Formerly I used to carry out this plan: then I wantonly killed many animals, burned down the forest, chopped everything

/1069 cont./

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to pieces, just to hurt 'the-one-up-there.' Today I am no longer able to do it, I have grown too old. In those days I had fun striking about wildly and destroying everything to hurt Watauinéiwa. That was the only reason I killed many animals, it was not because I wanted to use them for food."

(28) Kwí kun Yáiaaššga
All animals in Yáiaaššga

hapatéšku hášku mimuamékuta
to enjoy stretch out the hands, others go hungry

hapatéškenčikája tépan, Watauinéiwa.
enjoy also Watauinéiwa.

As in the preceding, this utterance also assumes that Watauinéiwa in Yáiaaššga made the animals; hence they belong /1070/ to him. A person who mourns a deceased person who was dear to him knows that he is being punished by the one-up-there, as though he had misused the right of ownership to the animals that is held by Watauinéiwa. That is why he explains to Watauinéiwa, using the words above: I killed and consumed your animals only with the intention of protecting myself from hunger and staying alive; other members of my family, that is, my wife, did the same. We had no other purpose in acting as we did. You punished me nevertheless and now I'm in trouble. -- Only hapatōska, "having a savoury smell" /cited in English/, in BD:266, and miāmūkana in BD:289 are to be specially noted.

(29) Apa čílla kapalagémude, tílawāja,
Why again be on the look-out, alas,

Abílla sa? hášindagénčix hapatéš
strong one, you? the like of me enjoy

kēnjúkája híta aalasinjana, hipája hipikája
I fat unable; us all

kúpa ťatambaímude, Hidábuan, tílawāja;
up there very angry, my father alas;

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/1070 cont./

kúka — mĕrakágu — hipáj — kúkan
at the same time — to act — we — further

ťatambťanapana — kičikája, — Hidáťuančikája.
discontent — with him, — our father,

ťílauwāja; — akĕmuť — tēpája, — híxupa
alas; — son, ah, — the one-from-above

mĕšanágun, — ťílauwāja, — maťakána
bequeath, — alas, — the girl

híxupa — mágáťatuťatíkude, — ťílauwāja?
the one-from-above — leave in peace, — alas?

The meaning is roughly as follows: Why do you "strong-one-up-there" again look at me malevolently? Are you perhaps afraid that I will consume all your animals? One who is built as I am cannot even consume the fat and the meat of a stranded whale. So why are you angry with us all? We, too, are behaving so that you can see, i.e., we, too, are showing you now that we are likewise displeased with you. Will "the one-up-there" leave me my son after he has taken away my daughter? -- Almost all the words used here are listed in 8D.

(30) Hitáťuančitēpakámu — hája — kúpa-ťatampťanmutíkudej,
My father alone — with me — up there is angry,

lójma; — annúčča — wēlapatēgulēra
alas; — truly, — murderer-mountain,

kúpa-ťatampťanmutíkudej, — lójma.
up there is angry, — alas.

This means: I thought only Hidáťuan alone up there is angry with me; but no, a human being has also become the murderer of my child, just as when that-one-there is angry. Instead of the word for "man" or "tribal member," the word for "mountain" is used here.

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(31) Ilamutika Watauinĕiwa xipĕinčikăja,
Strangely deals the old one with us,

wĕačia hamaššinnus măalamudĕkude, tĕlauwăja.
alone stand here every day alas.

A mother laments: Most strangely does Watauinĕiwa deal with us! He took away my daughter and now I stand alone. -- The word ilamutika is probably related to ilŏpitaki in BD:39.

(32) Kĕmutua Hitapŭan kupĕči
Why my father from above

talagĕnakušmĕkude, tĕlauwăja.
inconsiderately look upon, alas.

This laments says: Why does my father have no consideration for me, and why does he let my child die! -- This cry was repeated by several persons at the general funeral ceremony in March, 1923.

(33) Watauinĕiwa hipikăja kauičšnaĕr ammuxtĕgata,
The old one us both whale strand,

hauančimĕala hamaššinna hipĕi waalapĕana.
every day in the morning we to cut meat.

A person expresses his grief in the following strange manner: The old-one-up-there has again let one of us die. It would have been better if he had stranded a whale. Then we would have gone there and for many days we could have cut pieces of meat for ourselves every morning, he as well as I, too.

(34) Yamalĕri ĕima kŭpa maššĕkula mutĕkude
Much water from above to weep

yatuwĕimkĭpa kičĕmun, tĕlauwĕja;
eldest sister her father, alas;

kĕči wĕlapamx-wĕja tĕhaja kŭpa
murderer-bay likewise from above

maššĕkulĕĕna kĕči kičĕmun; kĕpen šĕla
many tears her father; child

/1071 cont./

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kúpa	mayamununúna,	tílagwílja:	
from above	teeth show,	alas:	
kéonatigaja	wíi	elinúna	sína yáix dérupe,
who may follow	cause		your tears to flow,

tílagwílja.
alas.

Old Emilia from the south, who never had any contact with missions, repeated these words. My informants emphatically assured me that they were unfamiliar with many of the expressions because the latter are old and belong to another dialect. The entire sentence has approximately the following meaning: On account of that-one-up-there an old man shed many tears for his daughter whom death carried away. He shed as many tears as flowed in Ushuaia where the-one-up-there /1072/ caused many people to die! The-one-up-there poured out his wrath [showed his teeth] on the daughter of this man. If only it were in our power to wrest from him the same great flood of tears.

[131] It is well known that after serious epidemics took the lives of many in the mission station of Ushuaia the Yamana referred to this region as wílapatux-wíja, "the bay of the great murders," i.e., of many deaths. See pages 298 and 340 /in untranslated portion/ for details.

(36)	híi	latambúa	híi	Hixúguanúkúja.
	I	discontent	with	my father.

Anyone who is in mourning can use this general expression, for the behavior of the Supreme Being is wholly inconsiderate.

765 116 539 All these sayings more or less clearly express the helplessness of the grieving human being before Watayinúwa, the strong one. The Yamana regard his action as arbitrary torture, for, regardless of their sorrow and contrary to their pleas, he continues to treat them cruelly. They permit themselves such sharp threats only in case of death, and they think they are justified in ridding their oppressed hearts of their grief through bitter accusations and violent rage. They cannot defend themselves in any other way.

/1072 cont./

E. Various Other Expressions

Finally there are a few more formulas with which the Yamana turn to their Supreme Being pleadingly or gratefully, as the situations of everyday life demand. All of them are brief and the meaning clear. Some of them are amusing, and it is surprising that our Fuegians, in child-like openheartedness, tell their Hóšŝpan even the most ordinary things.

(1) Hitaspán hája mátawšgámeŝ, ámma,
My father me protect, now then,

hái mášpa.
I return.

When he bids farewell, the person leaving says: If my-father-up-there keeps his hand spread over me protectively, I shall come back to this place hale and hearty. -- SD:321 gives mátawšgata, "to take a person under one's care" /cited in English/. SD:21 gives amaka, "place, position" /cited in English/. SD:311 has máši, "to come home" /cited in English/.

(2) Yíla hája Hitaspán talagšnakáru,
Should me my father want to take away,

tóoken hája.
seek me.

With these words a person is thinking of the possibility that death might overtake him during his voyage. He takes leave and says to the others: If this apprehension should come true, you will have to look for me a long time and still you won't find me. /1073/

(3) Ói yéila hája dápan, Watagindjwa
Yes farewell really, the old one

katalagína kurgína hipikája.
take away warm from one another.

The meaning of this formula is exactly like the preceding one.

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It is used when a person sets out on a major journey and says farewell for a long time. It says: Our separation is truly forever if it pleases Wataŭinēĭwa to take one of us away in death. -- BD: 262 gives hain tōpan, "now is the time, in real earnest" /cited in English/.

(4) Tūla Hitapūan hajakā́ja kēmētauwagumū́tu,
In case my father to me merciful,

ánnu hipā́j čī́la mataŭnghā́jnan.
now then, us again unite.

This formula, too, contains the familiar idea: Should it please my father to preserve me from danger and death, we shall meet again, safe and sound, at the end of my long journey.

(5) Wataŭinḗĭwa hā́ja kumēkalḗni.
The old one me westerly weather.

A person complains because Wataŭinḗĭwa surprised him on his voyage with westerly weather which is always unfavorable. -- BD:210 gives kūmōčí, kumōka, "to go or come Westward" /cited in English/.

(6) Uxā́ja, lḗmata wā́jaŭina, Hitapūan, uiā́ina
Ah, confused go about, my father weather

kēmū́tua sa-t-arugatā́ra Hitapūan? kēmū́tua
why you burden my father? why eyes

samunkēmbū́nata, Hitapūan, ikamā́na.
closed, my father, with snow?

Angry old Peine suddenly spoke these words when she was obliged to wade through the snow in bare feet. Nelly had sent for her; it was on March 21, 1922. She meant the following: Hitapūan listen, I am so indignant that my head is swimming because I must stamp through the snow. Why do you annoy me with bad weather? Do you keep your eyes closed and not see how much snow there is here on the ground?

/1073 cont./

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(7) Hĭia čílla akigamáni Tánuwa asúnan
Me again hit the old one in the woods

lēkēskéta; kéndam hitaualašínánude?
my head; how I bear it?

[153] /1074/ In wandering through the woods a man was in danger of being killed by a falling tree trunk; again he once was lightly struck. This gave him such a shock that he developed a headache. He mentions the old-one-up-there as the cause of it. That is why his situation is particularly serious and he does not know how he will regain his mental balance. -- Most of the words used here are repeated in the following exclamation.

(8) Tánuwa hája cílla akigamaníta lēkēskéta
The old one me again hit my head

asúnan kéndam hitaualašínánude?
in the woods, how I bear it?

In content this saying does not differ from the preceding one and says the same thing, but it expresses more definitely and emphatically the intention of Watauinéiwa to let the man be killed. -- Compare the verb akigámata, "to hit unintentionally, or by mistake" /cited in English/, in BD:15. BD:183 translates kōndám as: "such, so, in such a manner, in that way" /cited in English/. The word asúnan is evidently synonymous with ósunna, "forest, wood, jungle, thicket" /cited in English/, in BD:46.

(9) Watauinéiwa čikála kēlakanáa sa-kumásu.
The old one you will take away [if] you lazy.

[867] This formula is one example of the precepts which are given the candidates in the youth initiation. It warns the uswáala that the old-one-up-there does not tolerate a lazy person, but will let him die prematurely. -- The word kēlakanáa is related to kólenkōna, "to drive, shove, push away" /cited in English/, in BD:178, and to related forms.

782 197 Besides the formulas listed here the Yamana of former days used many others containing the same ideas, which now must be